mountain fastnesses of the Tyrol-a voice that | the ground of necessary defence. has a nce been heard by all nations. In tones treason of the King would work out the independence of the Magyar State, and closed with the appeal, "To arms, to arms, every man to arms! and let the women dig a deep grave bethe Ministry executed it, and the Nation organised almost in a day, and appointed and suppl ed as soon, by the genius which had sum-moned it to the field, met, defeated, and chased the invader to the very walls of Vienna, and there sat down and waited, unhappily in vain, the concerted rising of the German Repubdecimation of the patriots, abandoned the easy revolution. Hungary was thus left alone. Her constitutional compact and oath embarrassed the Emperor. He therefore resigned, and his Did anybody think that we ought or could go act of her Prince, the Diet deposed and banish-ed the House of Hapsburg, pronounced the | - And who are we, and who are Austria and

Nine months later, that independence was overthrown by two hundred thousand Russian troops, with one hundred and forty thousand auxiliaries, at the command of the Czar, on no better pretext than this; that the successful example of Hungary was dangerous to order and religion in Europe. But this was nothing less in one words of religion in Europe. But this was nothing less of Hungary of "what belonged to her," by Rus-

as well as in law and by the voice of justice,

sia, "for her own advantage," and such acts have been universally condemned as criminal by all writers on the law of nations, from the dawn of that science until its present noonday. When, in this fresh and accumulated invasion and inter-vention, the national army, not without extraordinary and chearing successes, were at last hemined in and around the national fortresses. and there remained only a hope that terms of capitulation might be obtained, Gorgey, the victorious and popular military chief, became contumacious towards the civil authorities. He was deposed, but was restored as an indispensable alternative; and then, holding in his own hands the only available means of effective resistance, he exacted an absolute dictatorship as a condition of using them. Invested with supreme power, he used it to complete a surrender of the country in pursuance of previous concert with the enemy, without conditions, except in one instance, and without striking a The civil leader, with a small but he role band, escaped into Turkey; and now, after long surveillance there, restored to freedom and activity, he is amongst us, with a soul unsubdued by treachery, misfortune, poverty, reproach, and exile, preparing a new revolution for me that, like our first of orators [Mr. Web-for his fatherland, which, as soon as it was surrendered to the Czar, was by him delivered may." I hope it

people of the United States that certain propoand fully and distinctly expressed in that pre-sented by myself, are established, namely: 1. That the people of Hungary, in the ex-

nations, in a solemn and legitimate manner asserted their national independence, and es-tablished a Government by their own voluntary

to the condition of a province ruled by a for-eign and absolute Power.

3. That although the United States, from

ferent to the usurpation and conquest by which

t was established.

4. That they may lawfully protest against

shall be expressed.

Sir, this being the whole of our case, and it being thus established, I ask why shall we not proclaim that just and lawful protest?

its welfare, and therefore in the laws by which | condition. It is necessary that a State should that welfare is secured? There was a Senate have some friends. To us, exemption from hatwo thousand years ago, in which that objection provoked a rebuke from one who never indulged a thought of the Republic that was not divine. "Haec lex socialis est," said Cicero, "hot jus nationum exterarum est : Hanc habent arcem, minus aliquanto nunc quidem munispes est, quae sociorum animos consolari posset, ea tota in hac lege posita est ; cujus legis non modo

extraordinary rule thus assumed, the value of the dred and thirty-five thousand men; and as the objection depends on what constitutes an having surrendered the State unnecessarily or will not be directly compensated treasure or territory, it is equally clear that we need neither, and that the promise of both play, and irreverent of the ashes of Washingwould constitute no adequate motive. The ton, and therefore not a Republican. would constitute no adequate motive. The commerce of Hangary is, however, an interest under a Republic. But as it is written for indiaggrandizement are means and not objects of Government, and that States live and flourish not on merely physical elements, but just in the proportion that law, order, peace, justice, and liberty, are maintained in the commonwealth of nations. What expenses do we not incur, what armaments do we not sustain, to restaut our national violate agricultural problem. And the Public Justice of the World. How do the Public Justice of the World. How misconduct of Louis Kossuth here, after Rustice of the World. How imagined of their wish that the wisdom and magnanimic of the Constitution and acceptance of the Constitution and acceptance of the Constitution might be rewarded by the most perfect attainment of its object—the permanent happiness of so great a People." This, sir, was the first salutation to Republicanism in Europe by the Government of the United provide, if we by silence or pusillanimity encourage attacks on the common welfare of na-

distinguished Senator from Kentucky [Mr. CLAY] reproved on an occasion like this in the House of Representatives, twenty years ago, when he said: "I see, and I own it with infinite regret, a tone and a feeling in the councils of the country infinitely below that which belongs to the country." Sir, it is enough for us if there be a duty, for the great Lawgiver has never subjected either individuals or societies a man to be hated. Until then, we must stand to an obligation, without attaching to the law upon the judgment we have already rendered.

It has already appeared that there is a duty resting upon us, unless, indeed, the act proposed would involve an injury to some reat interest of our own. The question, then, is not, what shall we gain, but what shall we lose, by the protest? The Senate Chamber and the to this inquiry, and we are frightened with estimates of the boundless cost of the controversy, and with pictures of its calamities, fearful, innot now employ force to separate Hungary from Austria, when Russia has united them terrible if we shall come off conquerors. Sir, I by force, cannot deny our right to protest meed no warnings of that kind. War is so incompruous with the dictates of reason, so ferocious, so hazardous, and so demoralizing, that I tested during the period of the act itself. But and good will for the French Republic," and cious, so hazardous, and so demoralizing, that I will always counsel a trial of every other law- the period was short, and we remote. ful and honorable remedy for injustice, before act is yet recent, and the prospect of a new a resort to that extreme measure of redress; attempt of Hungary continues the transaction, affectionate manner in which they had been cold and prudent for the great popular Leader

subterranean vaults of Schoenbrunn, and in the and, indeed, I shall never counsel it except on

But if war is to follow this Protest, then it sad yet bold, and in language solemn yet cheering and prophetic, it predicted that this ourselves or our enemy. But the Protest is not to arms! and let the women dig a deep grave be-tween Veszprem and Fehervar, in which to must come in retaliation of the Protest, and by cury either the name, fame, and nationality of the act of Russia, or of Austria, or of both. As-Hungary, or our enemy." The sons of Attila sume now that it shall so come, will it be just? The Protest is a remonstrance addressed to the the Law of Nations no remonstrance or comson, a youth of seventeen, sprang into the to war for that? No! we made a counter prosides, instructed to complete its subjugation by shall be so forever. And now, honorable Senconcentrating on the banks of the Theiss. Not one of them reached that beautiful river. All through fear of unjust retaliation, what duty were assaulted, routed, and repulsed; and on shall we not shrink from under the same mothe nineteenth day of April, 1849, only one tive? And what will be the principle of our year after the Nation had become free by the policy, when thus shrinking from obligations,

connection between Hungary and Austria at Russia, that ice should fear them when on the an end, and declared Hungary an independent defence against an unjust war? I admit, and State, and committed its Government under I hope all my countrymen will learn it without due responsibilities to its deliverer, Louis Kossuth, as Governor and President. Three days taining long, distant wars of conquest or of agtaining long, distant wars of conquest or of agafterwards, the last of the invading armies withdrew, and thus the war ceased, and Hungary was then in fact and by success of arms, operating with our own instincts of patriotism and self-preservation. Our enemies would be powerless to harm us, and we should be uncon-Why, then, I ask, shall we refrain from the

Protest? The answer comes up on all sides. Since, then, the measure is pacific, Russia will disregard it, and so it will be useless. Well what if it should? It will at least be harmless that we once interpleaded between the belliger ents of Europe twenty-five years by protests and remonstrances in defence of our neutral rights, and vindicated them at last by resistance against one party, and open, direct war against the other. But all that is changed now. Our flag was then a stranger on the seas, our principles were then unknown. Now, both are regarded with respect and affection by the People of Europe. And that People, too, are chang-ed. They are no longer debased and hopeless of freedom, but, on the contrary, are waiting impatiently for it, and ready to second our exssions of interest in their cause. The Britsh nation is not without jealousy of us. Let us only speak out. Do you think that they would be silent? No, sir. And when the United States and Great Britain should once speak, the ever-fraternizing bayonets of the army of France, if need were, would open a passage for the voice of that impulsive and generous nation. Who believes that Russia, despotic as she is, would brave the remonstrances f these three great Powers, sustained as they would be by the voice of Christendom? Sir, I do not know that this Protest will do Hungary or European Democracy any good. It is enough

the lawyers who claim to have circumvented ties with one of the belligerent Powers in a sitions implied in the protest offered by the the guest at the feast to which they had bid- general European war, but it admitted of exentangle in constructions of their national tra- sympathy and of interest in behalf of nations ditions the Great Teacher who came, not to 1. That the people of Hungary, in the exercise of rights secured to them by the law of nations, in a solemn and legitimate manner of the Hungarian Neophyte in American poliof the Hungarian Neophyte in American poli-tics. It is to be cettled upon arguments here, not on concessions elsewhere. And now, sir. act, and successfully maintained it against all parties lawfully interested in the question.

2. That the Emperor of Russia, without by abandoning an interest so solemnly asserted. Sir. those who oppose the Protest are willing to forsake the cause of Hungary now. Will it be more dishonorable to relinquish it affraud and armed force subverted the national independence and political constitution thus Will it be more dishonorable to relinquish it af-established, and thereby reduced that country ter an earnest effort, than to abandon it withmere honor that is then to prick us on, let the timid give over their fears. A really great, enthe necessities of political society, recognise the lightened, and Christian nation has just as existing rule in Hungary, yet they are not indifor, as a really great, enlightened, and Christian man has need to engage in a personal contest in the same case; and that is no necesthat conquest and usurpation, and against any new armed intervention by Russia to uphold it ternative of war. If Hungary shall never rise, against the will of the people of Hungary, if it there will be no casus belli. If she shall rise, recognise her as a nation. That recognition, with its political influence and commercial benefits, will be adequate to prevent or coun-An honorable Senator [Mr. MILLER] answers that we shall not speak, because "the matter is foreign." But how is it foreign? Does it ers whom it is unwise to provoke. I reply, that not arise in the family of nations, and are we it is not enough for a nation that it has no not a member of that family, and interested in enemies. Japan and China are in that happy

grateful and enduring.

Again, then, I ask, why not vindicate the Law of Nations by our Protest? One Senator to the new system, and of opposition to a [Mr. Clemens] draws an argument against hereditary rival, had recognised the United the exercise of national sympathy from the character and conduct he imputes to Louis Kossuth, and represents him as having been a Populo Romano, sed etiam ab ultimas nationabus jampridem severi custodes requiruntur."

Another Senator [Mr. Clemens] tells us reckless and uncalculating before danger approached and weak and vacillating and shrinking when it was coming on; as having abandulating when it was coming on; as having abandulating and strinking when it was coming on; as having abandulating and strinking when it was coming on; as having abandulating and strinking when it was coming on; as having abandulating abandulating and strinking when it was coming on; as having abandulating While it is true that this proceeding unwisely to one who for months he had believby either ed a traitor; and as being, therefore, not a hero; and, finally, as addicted to military dis-

Sir, if these assumptions were as correct to be secured by us; and inconsiderable as it must be under a Despotism, it would expand they are erroneous, what would they or the under a Republic. But as it is written for individual guidance, "Man shall not live by bread alone," so is it true of nations, that riches and bar of the Public Justice of the World. How protect our national rights against apprehend- Louis Kossuth was a preliminary question, and ed injustice? How much more must we not expend, what greater armaments must we not unanimity, and by a decree awarding such yond the Rhine. Sardinia and Austria, on unanimity, and by a decree awarding such honors as the American People had before found none worthy to receive but the constant and generous Lafavette

Gods, of whatsoe er degree, Resume not what themselves have given Freedom, sir, often undervalues, and sometimes mistakes, her friends; but Tyranny never is deceived in her enemies. Let the honorable Senator from Alabama [Mr. Clemens] convince the treacherous Bonaparte that Louis to restore the ancient order of things in France, and against the principles of the French Revupon the judgment we have already rendered.
Once more, then, I ask, why withhold our
Protest? The Senator from Alabama [Mr. Protest? The Senator from Alabama [Mr. Clemens] would reply, that Hungary is an integral part of the Austrian Empire, and entitled to our declaration only when she shall, by successful revolution, have established her independence. The form of my proposition independence. The form of my proposition defeats the objection. Hungary had always enjoyed and in that very way had established tested during the period of the act itself. The

freely from the stipendiary presses of Paris and Vienna, that a Protest would be a departure from the traditional policy of our country, and from the precepts of Washington. It is passing strange, sir, that Louis Napoleon and Francis Joseph should take so deep an interest The Protest is a remonstrance addressed to the conscience of Russia, and, passing beyond her, carries an appeal to the Reason and Justice of Mankind. As by the Municipal Law no remonstrance or complaint justifies a blow, so by by hearsay that an association during our last contest with Great Britain clothed themselves plaint justifies a war. The war then would be unjust, and so the Protest would be not a cause. Illustrious name; that they called themselves Constitutional Assembly of Austria, although cheered by popular victories, vacillated, and then of course cowered, and at last, amid the decimation of the patriots, abandoned the easy revolution. Hungary was the decimation of the patriots, abandoned the easy revolution. Hungary was the decimation of the patriots, abandoned the easy revolution. come a war of national defence. I have known a faction, too, that planted themselves on the same sacred text, to confine to persons of American birth the privileges of American throne, spurning the hateful ceremonies of a Hungarian coronation, and trampling the Constitution of St. Stephen into the earth. Nine armies at once entered Hungary on various are at peace with Austria yet, and I hope we fore, I always take the liberty to look underneath the mantle of Washington, on whose so ever shoulders I find it.

Sir, granting for a moment that Washington response of the Senate of the United States:

To the Senate of the United States : If the President should conclude a Convention or Treaty with the Government of Algiers for the ransom of the thirteen American citizens in captivity there, for a sum not exceeding \$40,000, all expenses included, will the Senate approve the same? If the President should conclude a treaty with the Government ment of Algiers, for the establishment of a peace with thom, at an expense not exceeding \$25,000, paid at the signature, and a like sum to be paid annually afterward during the continuance of the treaty, would the Senate approve the same?

May 8, 1792.

G. WASHINGTON.

Sir, you and I and all of us would have answered in the affirmative to these questions, had we lived and occupied these places in the last century. I desire to ascertain now many votes such a treaty would receive here now? And I address myself to the honorable Senator from Rhode Island, [Mr. CLARKE,] who moved resolutions against any departure from the policy of Washington. Would you, sir, pay a Barbary Pirate \$40,000 to ransom thirteen captives, and \$25,000 bonus, and \$25,000 annually for exemption from his depredations. He looks dissentingly. I appeal to my emulous friend from New Jersey, [Mr. Miller.] Would you, sir? No, not I. I demand from the other honorable Senator from New Jersey, [Mr. STOCKTON,] who in the triple character of Senator, Commodore, and General, presided at the Birthday Congressional Banquet in honor of Washington, and dishonor of his Hangarian disciple, Kossuth, Would you, sir ? No, not he. All who are in favor of such a treaty, let them say, Aye. What, sir! not one vote in the Senate of the United States for the continuance of what was in its time a wise and prudent as well as humane policy of Washington! No, not one. And why, sir? The answer is easy: The times have changed, and we have changed with them. No one has ever thought that the Spartans wisely continued the military monastery after their State was

over to the Emperor, and at once submerged in the Austrian Empire.

Ser, on the grounds of these principles and these facts, I submit to the Senate and to the people of the United States that certain property that I submit to the Senate and to the people of the United States that certain property the lawyers who alone the lawyer Revolution, and of protest, earnest and decided, against the intervention of foreign Powers to

sued until this very day and this very hour. Mr. President: I might well excuse myself from proving the truth of this proposition, inasmuch as, on the principles I have established, the United States, being a moral person, could not but cherish all that devotion to their own just and true system of politics which the policy I have described implies; and being, moreover, an enligetened as well as generous moreover, an enligetened as well as generous to avoid implicating ourselves by artificial ties. Power, they could not but desire to see it successfully adopted by other nations; and being finally, a free nation, they could not fail to speak out their sympathies with those who might be struggling to adopt it, and to utter their indignation at armed intervention by the property of the struggling to adopt it, and to utter their indignation at armed intervention by the control of the struggling to adopt it, and to utter their indignation at armed intervention by the control of the struggling to adopt it, and to utter their indignation at armed intervention by the control of the struggling to adopt it, and to utter the struggling to adopt it. Despotic Powers to deprive them of a right so absolute, and of benefits so inestimable. Least of all could George Washington, the highest plied themselves by the robbery of our unarm human personation of justice and benevolence, have inculcated any other policy than that which I have described. But the issue is one of profound and lasting importance. therefore History shall prove my proposition to savages amongst and around us, and was only be true, and vindicate my country and her waiting a pretext for a decisive blow at our

immortal Founder.
Political philosophy, as the last century by presenting a practical experiment of a ever-renewed, constant, and direct activity. France, with mingled motives of previous favor States at an early day, and granted them seasonable and effective aid, and bound them antee and alliance. The French Revolution of 1789 was the American Revolution beginning a new career in Europe. When, in 1792, cere participation in the interest of the French Nation on that great and important event, and States, and it was, in effect, a Protest against yond the Rhine. Sardinia and Austria, on the other hand, entered immediately into a treaty, and were soon afterwards followed by Russia, the Netherlands, and Great Britain—and thus was established the first combination, under the name of the Allied Powers, to oppose under the name of the Allied Powers, to oppose by force the Principles of the American Rev-olution. To establish this point, it is necessary to refer only to Wheaton's History of the Law

Monarchies."
On the 22d of April, 1794, when France function of the State, announced by letter to our Congress, that "a National Government had been born in France, and with it victory; that internal order had been restored, and that the conspirators against the Republic had fallen;" and they declared their desire to "draw closer than ever before the bonds of friendship and good will for the French Republic," and the House of Representatives declared them-

and contagious influence on the neighboring

of more intimate artificial ties with France, thus presented formally by the Committee of Safety, was urged upon Washington with discourtesy and vehemence by agents of that nation. He met it promptly, and denied it employed the safety of September. phatically, by the Proclamation of September, 1794, in which he declared that, in compliance with duty and interest, the United States would assume and maintain a neutral attitude in the war then raging in Europe. Disap-pointed as France was, the Convention of that Republic nevertheless within six months afterwards ordered the American flag to be displayed as a symbol of their principles in the Hall of their debates, and received it, when presented for that purpose by the American Minister, with enthusiastic demonstrations of respect and fraternal affection towards the American People.
Sixteen months after the date of the Procla

mation, and while it continued to regulate the action of the Government, Washington received the French Minister, Adet, with a letter from the Committee of Safety, and the tri-colored standard of the French Republic, on the first day of the new year—a day specially ap-pointed, because it was a day of general joy and congratulation. The Committee by that letter informed the United States that they had received assurances of sympathy, which inculcated just such a policy as is claimed by had been given to them by the American my opponents, is it so entirely certain that it Minister in Paris, with rapture, and added my opponents, is it so entirely certain that it ought always and under all circumstances to that they were well aware that the United be pursued? Here is a message of his that illustrates the policy he adopted towards, not one only, but all the Barbary Powers, and it received, I think, the unanimous and favorable that they were well aware that the United States truly understood that the victories of the French strengthened their own independence and happiness. Washington replied, that they were well aware that the United States truly understood that the victories of the French strengthened their own independence and happiness. Washington replied, that they were well aware that the United States truly understood that the victories of the French strengthened their own independence and happiness. Washington replied, that ence and happiness. Washington replied, that "his anxious recollections, his sympathetic feelings, and his best wishes, were irresistibly excited whenever he saw in any country an oppressed nation unfurl the banner of freedom: and that above all the events of the French Revolution had produced in him the deepest solicitude, as well as the highest admiration Rising into a tone of earnestness and enthusiasm, unusual with that seemingly imperturbable Magistrate, he added:

" I rejoice that the interesting revolutionary mov ments of so many years have issued in the formation of a Constitution designed to give permanency to the great object for which you have contended. I rejoice that Liberty, of which you have been the invariable defenders, now finds an asylum in the bosom support of a recognition of them whenever he of a regularly organized Government—a Govern-ment which, being formed to secure the happiness of time 'reform' reople, corresponds with the ardent wishes of my heart, while it gratifies the pride of every citizen of the United States by its resemblance t their own. May the friendship of the two Republic be commensurate with their existence."

The Senate on that occasion declared that they "united with Washington in all the feelings he had so ardently and so sublimely expressed." The scene in the House of Representatives was among the most inspiring ever exhibited in the Natal Halls of American Independence. On taking the Chair, the Speaker announced to the House that they would re ceive a communication which would excite the most pleasing satisfaction in every American heart, and cautioned the Representatives and the People in attendance to confine the fervor of their enthusiasm within the restraints of propriety and dignity. Washington's message was read, the colors of the French Nation were received and unfurled, the Letter of the Committee of Safety was submitted and considered and thereupon the Representatives unanimous-ly resolved, amid acclamations in and around the Chamber, that they "received the com-munication of France with sincere and lively sensibility, and that they deemed the presenta-tion of the colors of the French Republic a most honorable testimony of the existing sym-pathy and affections of the two Republics, founded on their solid and reciprocal interests, and that they rejoiced in the opportunity of congratulating the French Republic on the brilliant and glorious achievements accomplished under it, and that they hoped that those achievements would be attended with a perfect attainment of their chiest the Liberty and Happiness of that great People." Sir, were not these ceremonies a demonstration of symtories thus celebrated were won from the Allied Powers combined to oppress France by force. Were not these ceremonies a protest against their unlawful intervention? Nevertheless, the United States persevered in

the course marked out by the Proclamation and Washington, in his Farewell Address, published a year later, declared, in language truly quoted here, that the great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations was in extending our commercial relations to have as little political connection with them as possible, and its lurid blaze lighted up the Ocean. Both the belligerents recklessly turned Pirates, and suped, unprotected merchant vessels. Great Britain still, in violation of the recent treaty of peace, held the military posts on our Western borders, and had control of the passions of the waiting a pretext for a decisive blow at our newly-acquired independence; and France was seeking at the same time to involve us in the approaching its close, was engaged in an effort to discover the true theory of Government. The American Revolution terminated the dispute, representative Government, directly established by the People, and depending not merely for administration, but for continuance, upon their defendance of the continuance of the continu us against the treachery of her own domestic factions. Well did Jefferson, Secretary of State to Washington, while defending the policy of his immortal Chief, declare that if the United States "had panted for war as much as ancient Rome—if their armies had been as effective as those of Prussia—if their coffers had been full would have been too precious to have been put at hazard against odds so fearful, with an ally more dangerous than the enemy. And what was the condition of the United States, that results. It roused all the Monarchies of fury of France, or on the angry tide of her for-Europe, sooner or later, to a mighty and com-eign conflicts? An infant country, sunk deep bined effort for the extinguishment of the Popular Cause in France, as a necessary meascessity paying tribute at the same time to the transmitted the virtuous, but irresolute King's letter to Congress. The House of Representative rowing funds to pay the tribute money. What less than madness would it have been to have entered into closer alliance, and to have assumed more intimate ties with a nation whom they could not have aided, and in going to whose help they would have been certain to have perished. Salus Populi est suprema lex. Neutrality was a necessity, and therefore a

was continued throughout the whole war, un-til its close in 1814. Yes; and I confess, moreover, that congratulations and protests ceased down, and in its place arose, of course, a Dic-

But the American Revolution broke out soon in another region. As early as 1810, the Span-ish Provinces of South America declared their independence, and resorted to arms with bril-liant success. The Allied Powers of Europe, flushed with the recent triumph over Napoleon, frowned on the new Western Republics. The United States held at first a subdued tone, in consequence of severe experience in their war with England then just closed. Nevertheless, they regarded the controversy between the Colonies and Spain, not as an ordinary insurrection, but as a civil war between parties near-rection, but as a civil war between parties near-ly equal; while the President Monroe, asked Congress for a law to render the neutrality code more stringent. The design was alleged to be to prevent the departure of ships built at Bal-

and renders a censure of the past and a protest against the apprehended renewal of Russian intervention important and seasonable.

There remains the objection, that flows so readily from all conservative pens and tongues on this side of the Atlantic, and still more freely from the stipendiary presses of Paris and of more intimate artificial ties with France, sioners to seek information of the condition and prospects of the insurgents, just as President Taylor recently did in behalf of Hungary, and with the same object. But the great exponent of American Republicanism was not satisfied, and he thereupon moved in the House of Representatives an appropriation for a direct em-bassy to the Republic of the Rio de La Plata In support of that motion, he demanded, with noble, spirit-stirring vehemence: "Are we not bound upon our own principles to acknowledge the new Republic? If we do not, who will? Are we to expect that Kings will set us the ex-ample of acknowledging the only Republic on

earth except our own?"

A year later, the President, Monroe, taking bolder ground, intimated to Congress and to the world quite distinctly the interest with which the United States regarded the consultations of the Holy League. After saying, in the courtly language of diplomacy, that they had undertaken to mediate between Spain and her Colonies, he expressed a very confident be-lief that they would confine their interposition to the expression of their sentiments, abstain-ing from force. What was this, sir, but an expression of sympathy with the Republics, and a Protest against Armed Intervention by the Holy League of Europe?

One more year ripened these sentiments into action. "It is not in the power of a virtuous People," said the President, "to behold a conflict so vitally important to their neighbors without the sensibility and sympathy naturally belonging to such a cause." And after an-nouncing that he had tried to engage the cooperation of other Powers to influence Spain, e added, certainly very much in the spirit of the present proceedings, that, "should it become manifest to the world that the efforts of the parent State to subdue the Colonies would be ruitless, it might be presumed that she would relinquish them."
The House of Representatives, either think-

ing that the probable issue was already mani-fest, or unwilling to wait for the permission of other Powers, at once replied to the President, support of a recognition of them whenever he ould be pleased to grant it. They marked this decisive declaration by the unusual formality of sending a committee to announce their determinations to the President, at the head of which was justly placed the now distinguished Senator from Kentucky. [Mr. Clay.] A medal commemorating the civic achievements of that eminent Leader has been recently struck. One of its inscriptions recites this great triumph in behalf of Freedom in South America. Sir, in my judgment, it was the noblest of them all. Long after the recognition of the South American Republics, the Holy League contin-ued to entertain the appeal of Spain for their intervention. But the spirit of the American People would no longer brook such an unlawful act. In 1823, the President [Monroe] atoned for all past hesitation by that decisive and memorable protest, in which, after urging the inapplicability of the principles before held by our Government on the subject of intervention to the case of the South American States, he avowed that it "was due to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and the Allied Powers of Europe, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any part of this hemisphere as dangerous to our own peace and safety.... And that, while we should still remain neutral in the contest, our position would change if their intervention should render it necessary."

The Holy League, nevertheless, kept on se-

an invitation to attend a meeting of the new brotherhood of American Republics, called to discuss measures for the common safety and welfare. While explaining the reasons for that measure, that incorruptible and indomitable Magistrate thus renewed the protest of his predecessor:

ma, and the principles which may be adjusted by it, may not give umbrage to the Holy League of European Powers, or offence to Spain, it is a sufficient answer, that it can give no just cause of umbrage or offence to either, and that the United States will offence to either, and that the United States will stipulate nothing there which shall give such just cause. Here the right of inquiry into our purposes and measures must stop. The fear of giving umbrage to the Holy League of Europe was urged as a motive for denying to the American nations the acknowledgment of their independence. That it would be viewed by Spain as hostile to her was not only urged, but directly declared by herself. The Congress and the Administration of that day consulted their rights and duties, and not their fears. Neither the Representation of the United States at Panama, nor any measure to which their assent may be yielded there measure to which their assent may be yielded there will give to the Holy Lengue, or any of its members, or to Spain, the right to take offence. For the rest. the United States must still, as heretofore, take coun

And now, sir, the scene changes once more to Europe. Two thousand years ago, mercurial, vivacious, spiritual Greece, after continued and restless activity, fell asleep, and during her long slumber the False Prophet of the Koran bound her limbs with hateful and corroding chains. Within our day she moved, and awaked, and rose from the earth, and seized and attempted to break the instruments of her bondage. It was the Spirit of the American Revolution passing by that roused her from that lethargy to that noble achieve-ment. The Holy League of Europe, that had trampled Freedom beneath their feet in France, and menaced it so long in South America, con-sulted how to crush it in the Land of Homer and Pericles and Alcibiades. Greece, confined and Pericles and Alcibiades. Greece, confined within her miniature islands and her narrow peninsula, was to us a stranger, a shadow of a name, known to us only by her primitive instructions in all philosophy, by her perfection in all ennobling arts, and by her nursing care of our Holy Religion. But, for all that, we were not indifferent; and although Despotie Europe offered to league itself with Supersti-Europe offered to league itself with Superstitions and Despotic Asia for her subjugation, we were encouraged by the humane sympathies of the world, and did not quite fear to speak out. "It is impossible," said the President, [Monroe,] "to look to the oppressions of Greece without being deeply affected. A strong hope is entertained that that People will secure their independent name and their cavel stand. their independent name and their equal standing among the nations of the earth. From the facts which have come to our knowledge,

there is good cause to believe that the enemy has lost all dominion over them, and that Greece will become an independent nation. That she may obtain that rank, is the object of our wishes." This expression of sympathy for Greece, and this protest against the cruelty and oppression of her tyrant, was reiterated every year until, by the armed intervention of other reparators. other generous Powers, their object, the eman-cipation of that People, was obtained. Who can say now how much they did not contribute towards that gratifying result?

Mr. President: just after the revolution of France in 1830, I had the honor to visit Lafay-ette in La Grange. The porch of his chateau was ornamented with two brass field-pieces, captured from the army of Charles X by the citizens of Paris, and presented to its noble proprietor. The hall of entrance was decorahad at first taken arms in defence of national rights against internal intervention, afterwards carried war into the bosoms of the intervening States, who now resisted their late enemy to save Europe from an armed Military Despotism. The United States had no longer a cause in Europe to congratulate, to protect, or to defend the save t ette, "Louis Philippe will be King some seventeen or eighteen years; but no son of his will ever sit on a throne in France." That longest period had not elapsed when the throne in the Tuilleries disappeared, and the false Monarch was an Exile in England. We all recollect that the American Minister, without waiting for a permanent organization of the nation, or for instructions from home, or for intelligence of the dispositions of the Monarchs of Europe, hastened to intervene and commit his country by saluting the new Republic. The President [Polk] acted with equal promptness and de-

"The world [said he to Congress] has seldom wit-nessed a scene more interesting and sublime than the peaceful rising of the French People, resolved to se-cure to themselves enlarged liberty, and to assert, in the majesty of their strength, the great truth, that in this enlightened age man is capable of governing himself. The prompt recognition of her new Govern-

ment by the representative of the United States meets my full and unqualified approbation. The policy of the United States has ever been that of non-interventual Europe was unworthy, and to whom she had denied a refuge. S.r. it raised no surprise and excited no regret in me the United States has ever been that of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other countries—learing each to establish the form of Government of their own choice. While this wise policy will be maintained towards France, now suddenly transformed from a Marchy into a Republic, all our sympathies are naturally enlisted on the side of a great People, who, imitating our example, have resolved to be free.

Our ardent and sincere congratulations are extended to the patriotic People of France, upon their noble and thus far successful efforts to found for their future government liberal institutions similar to our own.

Congress echoed these just sentiments, and in the name and behalf of the American People tendered their congratulations to the People of France upon the success of their recent efforts to consolidate the principles of Liberty in a

Republican form of Government."
Mr. President, a spark from the flame, which
thus breaking out in Paris was regarded with so much pleasure here, kindled the material which had been long gathered and prepared by Louis Kossuth and his compatriots in Hungary. Remote as we were, we watched and followed the revolution in that ancient country with intense interest. We had an agent there, ready to tender our congratulations; but the cause went down under the iron pressure of Russian Intervention. When we could do no more, we sought the exiled Chief in Turkey, procured his release from duress and surveil-lance; and while the Russian and Austrian monarchs, with menaces, demanded his surrender to them by the Ottoman, we brought him, with the ovation of a Conqueror, under protec-tion of our flag, down the Mediterranean, and home to our own shores, and received him with honors that have divided the homage of mankind between ourselves and him. Sir, even while this slow and languid debate

has been going on, we have interceded—informally, indeed, but nevertheless we have interceded-with Great Britain for clemency to imprisoned patriots who, under auspices hopeless, out under the pressure of national evils quite intolerable, had attempted to renew the American Revolution in Ireland. And you and I, and every Senator here, whether he suppresses utterance as some may do, or speak out as I do, is earnestly hoping that that act of intercession may prevail with the amiable and virtuous Monarch who wields a benignant sceptre over those realms.

Here, sir, the history ends. I will add no glosses to the recital—I will not attempt to simplify the subject, involved as it is in the confusion resulting from the want of definitions of intervention, and from the neglect to discriminate between intervention in the domestic affairs of a nation and opposition against the flagrant act of a strong foreign Power in attacking, without just cause or motive, a weak but brave one struggling with its proper enemy. I shall not ask the Senate or the country to distinguish between intercession, solicitation, or protest, on the one side, and armed intervention, entangling alliances, and artificial ties, on the other. I will only say that either this Protest is not an Intervention, or we have done little else than to intervene in every con-test for Freedom and Humanity throughout the world since we became a nation-that if this act be wrong, we have never done right. If we approve and own the precedents of our predecessors, this act is one which cannot be justly or wisely omitted. The question before us, then, is not whether we shall depart from our traditional policy, but whether we shall adhere to it.

Inasmuch as some will say that I have pre sented, in too strong relief, the action of the Government in behalf of freedom, I call now on those who maintain that its policy has been one of indifference, to show one act that the United States ever committed, one word that they ever spake, or one thought that they ever indulged, of congratulation, of sympathy, or even of toleration, towards a falling despotism or a successful usurpation.

Having vindicated my country and her

statesmen against the implications of indifference, coldness, and isolation, I hope it will not now be thought presumptuous on my part, or irreverent to the memory of Washington, or dangerous to the State, if I inquire on what principle the duty of neutrality was founded by that illustrious man, and whether he en-joined that policy as one of absolute and per-petual obligation? "The duty of holding a neutral conduct," said he, in his Farewell Address, "may be inferred without anything more from the obligation which justice and humani ty impose on every nation in cases in which it is free to act to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations. Our "freedom," in that case, resulted from the circumstances which excused us from co-opeor alliance; and the exercise of "justice and humanity" was in favor of our own People. "The inducements of interest for observing that conduct (said he) will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor to institutions, and to progress without interrup-tion to that degree of strength and constancy which is necessary to give it, humanly speak-ing, the command of its own fortune."

I will not venture on such a question as whether Humanity and Justice may not, in some contingencies, require that we should af-ford substantial aid to nations as weak as we were in our Revolutionary contest when we shall have matured our strength. Nor will inquire whether time enough has not been al-ready gained to give us, speaking always with a due sense of dependence on an all-gracious Providence, the command of our own fortune.

It is clear enough, however, that we distrust our strength seldom, except when such diffidence will serve as a plea for the non-performance of some obligation of justice or of humanity. But it is not necessary to press such in-quiries. What is demanded here is not any part of our fifty millions of annual revenue. nor any use of our credit, nor any employment of our army or of our navy, but simply the ex-ercise of our free right of speech. If we are not strong enough now to speak, when shall we be stronger? If we are never to speak out, for what were national lungs given us?

Senators and Representatives of America, if I may borrow the tone of that sturdy Republi-can, John Milton, I would have you consider what nation it is of which you are Governorsa nation quick and vigorous of thought, free and bold in speech, prompt and resolute in ac-tion, and just and generous in purpose—a na-tion existing for something, and designed for something more than indifference and inertness in times of universal speculation and activity. Why else was this nation chosen, that "out of her, as out of Sinai, should be proclaimed and sounded forth the first tidings and trumpet? of political reformation to all nations. I would have you remember that the love of liberty is a public affection which this nation has deeply imbibed and has effectually diffused throughout the world; and that she cannot now suppress it, nor smother her desires to promote that glorious cause, for it is her own

ing the objections against this Protest, I would show affirmatively why it ought to be adopted. But with the disappearance of opposing arguments, the reasons in favor of it have risen with ments, the reasons in favor of it have risen with sufficient distinctness into view. I will only add that it is time to protest. The new outworks of our system of politics in Europe have all been carried away. Republicanism has now no abiding place there, except on the rock of San Marino and in the mountain home of William Tell. France and Austria are said to be comprising to even the control of the comprision of the control of the contr be conspiring to expel it even there. In my in-most heart, I could almost bid them dare to try an experiment which would arouse the Na-tions of Europe to resist the commission of a crime so flagrant and so bold.

I have heard frequently, here and elsewhere, that we can promote the cause of Freedom and humanity only by our example, and it is most true. But what should that example be but that of performing, not one national duty only, but all national duties; not those begin-ning and ending with ourselves only, but those also which we owe to other nations and to all mankind. No dim eclipse will suffice to illu-minate a benighted world.

I have the common pride of every American I have the common pride of every American in the aggrandizement of my country. No effort of mine to promote it, by just and lawful means, ever was or ever will be withheld. Our flag, when it rises to the topmast or the turret of an enemy's ship or fortress, excites in me a pleasure as sincere as in any other man. And yet I have seen that flag on two occasions when it awakened even more intense gratification. One was when it entered the city of Cork, covering supplies for a chivalrous and generous but famishing people. The other was when it recently protected in his emigration an exile of recently protected in his emigration an exile of

to see that Exile and that flag alike saluted and honored by the People, and alike feared and hated by the Kings of Europe.

Let others employ themselves in devising new ligaments to bind these States together They shall have my respect for their patriotism and their zeal. For myself, I am content with the old ones just as I find them. I believe that the Union is founded in physical, moral, and political necessities, which demand one Government, and would endure no divided States that it is impregnable, therefore, equally to; force or to faction; that Secession is a feverish dream, and Disunion an unreal and passing chimera; and that, for weal or woe, for liberty or servitude, this great country is one and inseparable. I believe, also, that it is Righteour ness, not greatness, that exalteth a nation, and that it is Liberty, not repose, that renders national existence worth possessing. Let me, then, perform my humble part in the service of the Republic, by cultivating the sense of Jus-tice and the love of Liberty which are the elements of its being, and by developing their saving influences, not only in our domestic conduct, but in our foreign conduct also, and in our social intercourse with all other States and

It has already come to this, that whenever in any country an advocate of Freedom, by the changes of fortune, is driven into Exile, he hastens to seek an asylum here: that when-ever a hero falls in the cause of Freedom on any of her battle-fields, his eyes involuntarily turn towards us, and he commits that cause with a confiding trust to our sympathy and our care. Never, sir, as we value the security of our own freedom, or the welfare and happiness of mankind, or the favor of Heaven, that has enabled us to protect both, let that Exile be inhospitably repulsed. Never let the prayer of that dying hero fall on ears unused to hear, or spend itself upon hearts that refuse to be

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